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## I.—SYNCRETISM IN THE INDO-EUROPEAN DATIVE.

[CONCLUDED FROM A. J. P. XXXIX 26.]

IV. A particularly important branch of the dative of advantage or disadvantage is that dative which was called by Havers, *Untersuchungen zur Kasussyntax der idg. Sprachen*, Strassburg, 1911, *Dativus sympatheticus*, for which a possessive genitive can be substituted. A very large proportion of these datives go back to the primitive dative, i. e. are merely the secondary objects of verbs,<sup>1</sup> and were intelligible even when the dative was not formally characterized. Cf. e. g. Skt. RV. 1. 118. 7 *kāṇvāyāpiriptāya cākṣuḥ prāty adhattam* 'for the blinded Kaṇva you put in his eyes again', Av. Yt. 10. 87 *ahmāi frasčindayeiti nmānəm* 'for him he destroys (his) house', Gr. Z 51 τῷ δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔπειθε 'for him he persuaded (his) mind in (his) breast', κ 440 τῷ οἱ ἀποτμήξας κεφαλὴν . . . καὶ πηῶ περ ἔοντι μάλα σχεδόν 'with this cutting off for him (his) head, even though he was a very close relative', Lat. Plaut. Most. 1. 3. 62 *ut veneficae illi fauces prehendam* 'that I might seize for that sorceress (her) throat' i. e. 'seize her by the throat', ib. 111 *linteum cape atque exterge tibi manus* 'take a towel and wipe for yourself (your) hands' Goth. Joh. 11. 37 *sa izei uslauk augōna þamma blindin* 'he who opened (his) eyes for the blind man', O. H. G. Ot. 4. 11. 50

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes also in closer connection with the verb. Thus the examples of the dative with verbs meaning 'to take away, deprive' (p. 16) could be considered as belonging to this type.

*thaz ein andremo fuazi wasge gerno* 'that one gladly wash the feet for (of) the other', Lith. Jurk. 12 *tù princēsei ir kēdeli sulāstei* = Germ. 'du hast der Prinzessin auch den Rock begossen', ib. 16 *jey kàs tām smākui gálwq nùkert* 'if any one cuts off the head for this dragon (this dragon's head)'.

V. *The Ethical Dative*. The remoter interest in a statement of which this use of the dative is indicative may also be suggested in an uninflected form when put alongside of a primary object, as is shown by Fielding's "they drank me two bottles." Consequently the following examples of the ethical dative with a direct object belong to the most primitive strata of the uses of the dative: Av. Y. 45. 5 *yōi mōi ahmāi*<sup>1</sup> *səraošəm dən* 'those who give him their obedience (lit. for me)', Yt. 17. 59 *imaṭ mē stāvištəm šyaoθnəm mašya vərəzinti* 'das ist mir die gröbste Tat, welche Menschen verüben', Gr. Ar. Nub. 111 *τί σοι μαθήσομαι*; 'what shall I learn for you?', Dem. 18. 178 *τούτω πάνν μοι πρόσσχετε τὸν νοῦν* 'closely give your attention to this for me', Lat. Hor. Ep. 1. 3. 15 *quid mihi Celsus agit?* 'what is Celsus doing, I pray?' (lit. 'for me'), Cic. Cat. 2. 5 10 *qui mihi accubantes in conviviiis . . . eructant sermonibus suis caedem* 'who (lit. for me) while they are reclining at their banquets, belch forth murder in their talk', O. H. G. Wess. Pr. *der dir rihtet alla die er kiscuof* 'who judges (for you) all whom he created', ib. *die, die dir der almahtige got . . . ladite zi demo ēuuigen libe* 'those whom the almighty God called (for you) to eternal life', Lith. Jurk. 23 *kàs mā' nunēsz :ēwa pētūs?* 'who will take for me father's dinner?'

VI. *The Dative of the Person Judging*, sometimes called "dative of relation." Usually, however, this occurs with intransitive verbs, so that it looks as though the full development of this construction must be placed after the time when the dative case received its ending. Nevertheless the first beginnings of the same can also be traced to the primitive uninflected dative of the secondary object; for a few passages do occur in which such a dative is used together with a direct object. So in Greek, Aesch. Pr. 12 *σφῶν μὲν ἐντολή Διὸς ἐχει*

<sup>1</sup> The use of two datives with an accusative object is a type that also no doubt goes back to the primitive uninflected dative; for the context will make clear the difference between the more closely and the more loosely connected datives just as well as between either of these and the accusative.

τέλος δὴ κοῦδὲν ἐμποδὼν ἔτι 'for you two (i. e. as far as you are concerned) the command of Zeus has fulfilment, and there is no hindrance any longer'. From the Latin cf. Plaut. Tr. 3. 3. 11 *ne . . . te in crimen populo ponat* 'lest it bring you into censure for the people' (i. e. in the eyes of the people).

VII. All of the datives of interest so far quoted were personal datives. For the dative of the person judging and the ethical dative it could of course not be otherwise, and as far as the dative of advantage and disadvantage is concerned, the relation expressed would in the nature of the case be a personal one, at least usually, if not always, not only for the same reason that a dative of the indirect object would usually, though by no means necessarily, be a personal dative (p. 13, 21 f.), but also because the notion of advantage in its truest sense implies a personal object. Nevertheless, some instances can be found which can be brought under the category and are names of things. Usually this is because persons are somehow associated with the thing, either because the word denoting a thing is used figuratively, or because the advantage will be for the persons associated with the thing. Such cases are β 186 σῶ οἴκῳ δῶρον ποτιδέγμενος 'receiving a gift for your house', where the gift is for the advantage of the master of the house,<sup>1</sup> and Thuc. I. 11 τὸ γὰρ ἔρυμα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οὐκ ἂν ἐτειχίσαντο 'for else they would not have built the wall for their camp', where the advantage of those who used the camp is in the background. Equally clear is Lat. *privata odia publicis utilitatibus remittere* 'to give up one's private enmity for the sake of the public welfare' (Tac.), and Umbr. *tote Iiueine* 'for the Iguvinian state' in the example quoted on p. 25. The Latin example, however, shows how close such a dative may be to a dative of purpose, and it is merely a matter of nomenclature to which category we assign it. The difference, in fact, is one which is due to the context only, and not one inherent in the case meaning.

### 3. The Dative of Purpose.

Sometimes the dative of purpose is a concrete idea, and then, as has been pointed out, it is almost undistinguishable from the dative of advantage. It is called a dative of purpose

<sup>1</sup> So Brugmann, Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup>. 400.

when the context makes it clear that there is the purpose of producing, procuring, etc., the object designated by the noun in the dative.<sup>1</sup> So e. g. among examples in which the dative is used with a primary object: Skt. RV. 5. 41. 17 *iti cin nú praj yai paśumátyai dévāso vānate mártyo vah* 'thus mortals, ye gods, implore you for (i. e. to get) offspring rich in cattle', AB. 4. 32. 7 *aṅgirasō vai svargāya lokāya sattram āsata* 'the Angirasaś held a sacrifice for heaven' i. e. 'to get to heaven', MS. 2. 1. 5 (6. 20) *śvetā gā ājyāya duhanti* 'they milk the white cows for butter' i. e. 'to get butter', Gr. Δ 486 ὄφρα ἴτον κάμψῃ περικαλλέι δίφρῳ<sup>2</sup> 'that he might bend the felloe for (i. e. to make) a beautiful chariot', Lat. Caes. B. G. 7. 16 *locum castris deligit* 'he selects a site for a camp', Verg. Aen. 3. 109 *optavitque locum regno* 'and chose a place for a kingdom', Liv. 1. 12. 4 *hic in Palatio prima urbi fundamenta ieci* 'here on the Palatine hill I laid the first foundations for a city'.

More frequently the dative of purpose is an abstract noun, and a very large proportion of these are used together with primary objects either of the person or thing, and therefore represent a type that goes back to the primitive uninflected dative. The notion of purpose is here a mere variety of the suggestions brought in by the other secondary objects. When an abstract noun is used after a verb together with a concrete noun of the person or thing, it is evident that the abstraction cannot in any real sense be affected by the verb like a concrete idea, since it has no real existence apart from the concrete ideas with which it is connected, and consequently in such a combination the abstract word will be felt as a kind of secondary or indirect object, and suggest a relation which we describe by saying that the dative designates the intention of attaining a purpose.<sup>3</sup> We can still say in English "send help" as well as "send an army," but the primitive language could combine the two as though: "send army help,"<sup>4</sup> in which case the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 2<sup>2</sup>. 559.

<sup>2</sup> Though the dative of purpose is not recognized for the Greek, it is evident that the example here given does not in any way differ from concrete datives of purpose of the other languages. [Cf. Meisterh.,<sup>8</sup> p. 209, §§ 25-27.—C. W. E. M.]

<sup>3</sup> So Schmalz, op. cit. 377.

<sup>4</sup> Such a collocation, however, would be unambiguous only as long as 'help' is strictly abstract. Just as soon as it may mean bodies of

latter would be the *relatively* less affected object and be indirect, i. e. would be 'to help', and would suggest the notion of purpose.

Though the large category of infinitives of purpose would historically belong to this category,<sup>1</sup> I confine the examples to living abstract nouns: Skt. RV. 5. 51. 12 *svastāye vāyūm ūpa bravāmahai* 'we will call upon Vāyu for welfare', CB. 1. 2. 3. 1 *agnīm hotrāya prāvṛṇata* 'they elected Agni for the priesthood', RV. 6. 63. 5 *ādhi śriyē duhitā sūryasya rātham tathau* 'the daughter of the sun mounts the chariot for beauty' i. e. 'so that it is beautiful', Av. Y. 9. 27 *amāiça θwā vərəθraynāiça māvōya upamruye tanuye* 'for power and victory I pray (to) thee for my person', Y. 46. 10 *yasčā haxšāi xsma-vatqm vahmāi ā* 'whom I will urge on to your worship', Yt. 10. 26 *yō daiṣhaom uparāi amāi dadāiti* 'who helps the land to superior strength', Lat. Cato *granatui videto ut satis viciae seras* 'see to it that you sow enough vetch for (the purpose of) gathering in the grains', Caes. B. C. 1. 52 *tertiam aciem . . . nostris subsidio*<sup>2</sup> *misit* 'he sent the third line as a relief to our men', Tac. An. 16. 4 *ea quem indutui gerebat veste* 'that dress which he had for putting on', O. Blg. *položilz ny jesi směchu vbsěmz člověkomz*<sup>2</sup> 'you have made us for ridicule (i. e. an object of ridicule) for everybody', *otčdati dčšterb braku* 'to give the daughter in marriage'.

It thus appears that the primitive dative of the secondary object has a very wide field indeed compared to what would be the "Grundbedeutung" if we assume a purely localistic origin. Wherever mere collocation of two substantives depending on one and the same verb causes one to appear as less intimately affected by the verb than the other, there we have a primitive dative in the former. Thus the main body of the datives of the indirect object with transitive verbs, a con-

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troops or supplies for the purpose of helping, it will become the direct object, and the whole will mean 'send help to the army'.

<sup>1</sup> This point was emphasized by Hopkins, JAOS. 28. 406, and Bennett, Synt. of Early Lat. 103, as of importance in judging the validity of the statement that the dative is a personal case.

<sup>2</sup> The use of two different datives with a direct object is just as easy even in an uninflected state of language when one is a dative of purpose as in case of a collocation like that referred to p. 118 n.

siderable part of those with intransitive verbs, namely when these take an internal object, a large proportion of datives in looser relations to the verb, particularly of the dative of advantage and disadvantage, but also of the ethical dative and dative of the person judging, and finally, a large part of the datives of purpose can all be traced to this uninflected "Ur-dativ." It only required the development of a special form which would distinguish it from the direct object, and would no longer make its existence dependent on the coexistence of a primary object, and we can see how all of the other historical uses of the dative could easily have developed from this large nucleus.

## II. THE LOCATIVAL DATIVE OF THE SINGULAR.

This special form, as far as the dative singular is concerned, must have been originally a case not differing in meaning from the locative singular, since the dative suffix *-ai* is merely the strong form of the locative *-i*. Now the locative case often appears to designate the goal or limit of motion or its direction,<sup>1</sup> not indeed because these notions were attached to the locative case itself, but because the situation will often suggest these ideas even when the case denotes mere place with no reference to motion.<sup>2</sup> That is why the locative with verbs implying motion may so frequently be used where we should expect an accusative of limit. Cf. e. g. Skt. RV. I. 77. *ī yó mártiyeṣu . . . it kṛṇóti devān* 'who brings the gods to men (loc.)', Gr. *ν 363 ἀλλὰ χρήματα μὲν μυχῷ ἄντρον . . . θέλομεν* 'but let us put the treasures in a corner of the cave', Lat. Val. Fl. 4. 378 *saxo posuit latus*. In the same way the old local *-ai* forms must have been sometimes synonymous with expressions denoting direction or limit of motion, and when such a case-form, as in the examples quoted from the real locative, was used together with an object, it competed with the primitive uninflected dative of the secondary object, which, as we have seen above, could also often suggest the notion of the direction or goal of motion. Starting from this rather large common sphere of usage, the form in *-ai*, preferred because the clearer, extended its sphere so as to include all of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Delbrueck, *Ai. Syntax* 121 f., for the Skt.

<sup>2</sup> So Brugmann, *op. cit.* 515 A.

the functions of the primitive uninflected dative, and finally took its place. The I. E. dative thus at a very early date had gone through exactly the same process as the dative of the Romance languages, in most of which the accusative with *ad*,<sup>1</sup> purely local in origin, took the place of the Latin dative in all its uses.

The sphere of usage which was common to the primitive dative and the locative dative singular would, of course, be conceived as being more or less wide according to the localistic predilections of the person judging. I have already referred to the fact that it is logically possible to bring in localistic notions everywhere where the passage concerns objects of sense, and in a large number of others from the figurative point of view. The real question is whether there is any probability that such expressions were conceived locally, and, if possible, whether other indisputably localistic forms of expression like the locative case<sup>2</sup> or a prepositional phrase are actually competing with the dative. Even here, however, caution is in order. When Gustafsson, *op. cit.* 64, concludes that because in Latin one could say *subsidio mihi venit* or *ad subsidium mihi venit*, the 'dative of purpose' of the former is to be taken locally, he is shooting far beside the mark, and forgets that prepositional phrases begin to lose their local meaning and become extended to all sorts of figurative uses at a very early time. But however wide or narrow we may draw the line for the use of this local case, it is the same principle, and enough is left to make probable the supposition that syncretism resulted from this common sphere.

With no attempt to demarcate its bounds closely, this common territory would seem to me approximately to consist of the following categories, in all of which, of course, the dative must be accompanied by a primary object: the dative singular after verbs meaning to write, show, stretch out, raise, bring, carry, send, throw, hurl' (p. 18 ff.), occasionally those meaning 'to give, offer, sell, lend, owe' (p. 14 ff.), and very rarely no

<sup>1</sup> The process, in fact, was almost completed in the Vulgar Latin stage: cf. Grandgent, *Intr. to Vulg. Lat.*, p. 44 f.

<sup>2</sup> The competition of the Accusative of Limit with the Dative is particularly emphasized by Professor Hopkins in his article "The Vedic Dative Reconsidered," *TAPA*. 37. 87 ff., repeatedly referred to above.



doubt even those meaning 'to say, command, promise, prophesy, answer, to complain of, sing' (p. 17 f.). However, in the last group the local notion could only have been figurative, and therefore exceptional. Then again some cases of the "dativus sympatheticus" can be conceived locally, e. g. Skt. *kāṇvāya cākṣuḥ prāty adhattam* either 'for Kanva' or 'on Kanva you put in the (his) eyes again'. On the other hand, the dative of advantage or disadvantage in most of its forms, the ethical dative and dative of the person judging, and the dative of purpose cannot ordinarily be brought into the category of local datives without violence, even though sporadic instances might occur in which we could allow its possibility, e. g. for the dative of purpose of concretes Lat. *prima urbi fundamenta ieci*, or of abstracts Skt. RV. 6. 45. 7 *sākhāyam . . . gām nā dohāse nuve* 'I call the friend like a cow to the milking' or 'for milking'.

On the other hand, this locative dative singular could be used in many instances where the primitive dative would be impossible. Here we must leave out of account the strictly locative uses which are not found in any datives. We can argue that if the dative singular was merely an ablaut-variant of the locative, there should also be no difference of meaning, but as a matter of fact the local uses of the dative are all of the directive or possibly terminative kind, so that a differentiation must have taken place.<sup>1</sup> Whether this occurred before or after the form in *-ai* came in contact with the primitive dative, the result remains the same. If the latter, the primitive dative, which could in certain environments suggest a local idea of the directive or terminative kind only, but not of place where, in turn influenced the sphere of usage of the form in *-ai* at the very beginning. The uses of this locative dative singular which it brought in to the later dative are therefore

<sup>1</sup> I am inclined to believe that the use of the dative adverb Gr. *χαμαί* Lat. *humi* in the meaning 'on the ground' (Brugmann, op. cit. 703 quotes Homeric *τὸν αὖ χαμαὶ ἐξενάρηεν* 'he killed him upon the ground' and from Cicero *nihil interest, humine an sublimē putescat*) instead of 'toward the ground' is a petrified remnant from the time before syncretism with the primitive case of the secondary object, rather than that it was due to subsequent influence of similar locative forms, as Brugmann, loc. cit.

those directive and terminative uses of the same which can not be traced to the primitive dative of the secondary object.

In the first place, even though the primitive dative could sometimes be non-personal and even be a place name (p. 22 f.), yet the fact that the notion of direction thus suggested would be much clearer in an inflected dative, suggests the conclusion that the development of the construction came from the form in *-ai*, which is therefore responsible for the majority, though not all, of the constructions like Skt. RV. 10. 9. 3 *yásya kṣáyāya jínvatha āpo janáyathā ca naḥ* 'to whose house, O waters, ye hurry (us) and cause us to come', Gr. A 3 *ψυχὰς Αἰδὶ προτάψεν* 'sent the souls to Hades' (unless the latter is still conceived as the god rather than the place),<sup>1</sup> Pind. I. 6. 41 *ὁ δ' ἀνατείνας οὐρανῷ χεῖρας* 'but he stretching out toward heaven his hands', Lat. Verg. Aen. 12. 130 *defigunt telluri hastas* 'fix the spears into the ground', ib. 5. 233 *palmas ponto tendens* 'stretching his hands toward the sea', ib. 2. 553 *lateri . . . abdidit ensem* 'buried (his) sword in (his) side', Val. Fl. 5. 9 *robora portant arae* 'carry wood to the altar', Serb. *vode njega<sup>2</sup> dvoru bijelome* 'lead him to the white house'.

Secondly, the fact that this case was by its ending differentiated from the direct object, allowed the use of such combinations as 'send one to death' instead of the simpler and more obvious 'send death to one', which alone was possible for the uninflected dative. So e. g. Skt. RV. 8. 22. 7 *ṛṣṣīm . . . mahé kṣatrāya jínvathah* 'urged Ṛṣkshi to great power', ib. 8. 43. 19 *agnīm . . . admasādya hinvire* 'urged Agni to commensality', ib. 6. 44. 11 *mā jāsvane . . . no rarīthāḥ* 'do not give us to misery', ib. 1. 189. 1 *ágne náya . . . rāyé asmān* 'Agni, lead us toward wealth', ib. 3. 8. 11 *yám . . . prañināya mahaté saúbhagāya* 'whom it leads toward great bliss', Lat. Plaut. Capt. 3. 5. 34 *te morti misero* 'shall have sent you to death', id. Merc. 2. 4. 4 *ibi me toxico morti dabo* 'there with poison I shall give myself unto death', Verg. Aen. 12. 513 *neci . . . tris uno congressu . . . mittit* 'sends to death three with one

<sup>1</sup> A similar ambiguous case is Verg. Aen. 2. 398 *multos Danaum demittimus Orco* 'we sent many of the Greeks to Orcus' (or 'the lower world').

<sup>2</sup> The Slavic genitive is used as direct object in place of the accusative of words designating living beings. Cf. e. g. Leskien, Handb. d. ab. Spr. 61. However, this does not affect the nature of the dative.

assault'. In all of these passages the local force of the dative seems distinct enough even though figurative.

More important, however, is the ability of this locative dative to designate direction, or, eventually, goal of the motion, independently of the existence of a primary object, i. e. it can as well be used as the only object with intransitive and passive verbs or with transitive verbs used absolutely. The most clearly localistic of these uses, in fact of all uses of the dative, is the dative after verbs meaning 'to come, go', and the like, particularly those of words designating a place. So e. g. Skt. RV. 8. 44. 25 *samudrāyeva sindhavaḥ* . . . *īrate* 'rush as rivers toward the sea', ib. 9. 9. 2 *prā-pra kṣáyāya pányase* . . . *arṣa* 'auf, ströme zum berühmten Sitz', *ṣakatāyābhipravrajati* 'steps forward to the wagon', Raghuv. 12. 7 *vanāya gaccha* 'go into the forest',<sup>1</sup> Gr. Eur. Herc. Fur. 242 *ἐπειδὴν δ' εἰσκομισθῶσιν πόλει*<sup>2</sup> 'when they will have been taken to the city', Lat. Verg. Aen. 5. 451 *it clamor caelo* 'clamor rises toward heaven', id. Georg. 1. 401 *nebulae* . . . *campo recumbunt* 'fogs settle upon the plain', O. Eng. *pá he heofonun ástág* 'there-upon he ascended to heaven', O. Blg. *šbdžši domovi* 'going to her home', Serv. *već ti idi dvoru bijelomu* 'but you go to the white farm'. The same category with personal datives e. g. Skt. RV. 1. 154. 3 *prá viṣṇave ṣuśám etu mánma* 'forth unto Vishnu shall go the mighty song', ib. 1. 39. 7 *gántā nunám nó 'vasā yáthā purá* . . . *kāṇvāya* 'come now to us with help as formerly to Kanva', Av. Y. 49. 1 *gaidī mōi* 'come to me', Gr. Γ 121 *Ἴρις* . . . *Ἑλένη* . . . *ἄγγελος ἦλθεν* 'Iris came to Helen as a messenger', Lat. Enn. An. 450 *undique conveniunt* . . . *tela tribuno* 'from everywhere the missiles come upon the tribune',

<sup>1</sup> According to Hopkins, op. cit. 119 f., such strictly terminative uses of the dative were developed from a vague directive force, which in turn was also the source of the interest notion. If the theory of the dative here presented is correct, we cannot distinguish between direction and goal of motion so accurately; for the original use of the local dative singular embraced these as well as other uses, while even the influence of the subsequent syncretism with the case of the indirect object did not rule out the terminative notion any more than the directive: in *dare alicui aliquid* there is no more reason to say that one thinks merely of the direction of the giving than to be certain that one is actually thinking of the limit of motion.

<sup>2</sup> The passive is here synonymous with an active meaning 'to go'. Cf. p. 133.

O. H. G. *boton quement mīne thir* 'my messengers will come to you', O. Sax. *grurios quāmun im* 'horror came (upon) him', O. Eng. *héo . . . 3ewāt hire hlāfordum* 'she went to her lord', O. Blg. *bogovi prichodiši* 'you are coming to God', Serv. *idem ocu svojemu* 'I am going to my father'. When the dative is abstract the local idea is of course purely figurative, and may approach the notion of purpose: Skt. RV. 1. 103. 4 *upaprayān dasyuhātṛyāya* 'coming forward unto demon-slaying', ib. 1. 61. 14 *sadyó bhuvad vīryāya* 'immediately he came to power', Av. V. 13. 8 *urva parāiti parōasnāi arəuhe* 'the soul goes forth to the future life', Lat. Verg. Aen. 2. 62 *occumbere mortī* 'to meet death'.

Of other intransitive verbs with the dative, those meaning 'to approach' and 'to meet' seem most probably to owe their construction to the locative dative: their dative is a dative of direction, and is almost identical with the dative after 'to come'. Cf. Gr. μ 108 σκοπέλω πεπλημένος 'approaching the rock', Ξ 438 πῆτο χθονί 'he approached (i. e. sank to) the earth', Plat. Symp. 195 B ὅμοιον ὁμοίῳ ἀεὶ πελάζει 'like always meets like', Lat. Caes. B. G. 4. 10 *ubi Oceano adpropinquavit* 'where it (the Rhine) approaches the Ocean'. With personal dative e. g. Gr. Z 399 ἣ οἱ ἔπειτ' ἤντησε 'she thereupon met him', Soph. Tr. 902 ὅπως . . . ἀντὶ πάτρι 'that he might meet his father', Lat. Cic. Phil. 4. 4 *illi poena, nobis libertas appropinquat*, Goth. Marc. 5. 2 *gamōtīda<sup>1</sup> imma manna* 'a man met him', O. Sax. Hel. 1701 *it simbla mōtean skal erlō gihwīlīkomu sulīk, sō he it ḡḡrumu gedōd* 'it shall always befall each man as he does to others', O. H. G. Ot. 3. 2. 3 *fuar ingegin imo* 'went to meet him'. With an abstract dative e. g. μ 41 ὅς τις ἀιδρεΐη πελάσῃ 'whoever come near to folly' i. e. 'whoever be so foolish'.

It is, however, quite possible that these datives of the last paragraph are not pure local datives, but are of composite origin. The fact that Gr. πελάζω is sometimes transitive and then has a similar dative of the secondary object, e. g. ο 482

<sup>1</sup> The synonym *sih nēh-an* takes a dative which is a secondary object, since the reflexive pronoun is as truly an object as any other. However, there is the possibility that this reflexive verb took the place of an original middle verb, but this would not affect the psychic attitude of the speaker.

τοὺς δ' Ἰθάκῃ ἐπέλασσε . . . ἄνεμος 'the wind brought them (near) to Ithaca', suggests that the dative after the intransitive verbs could have been patterned after those with the transitive verbs after the dative had once been characterized formally. Altogether probable is a similar origin of datives after verbs meaning 'to incline toward, bend down to, to fall to one's share, become one's own', etc., although all of these and some others may be logically forced into the category of datives of direction, and may have been occasionally associated with other unquestionable local datives.

On the other hand the locatival dative, in contrast to the uninflected primitive dative, could from the beginning be attached to substantives and adjectives of meaning kindred with that of the verbs which took the case as well as to the verbs themselves. We thus can refer to it not only indisputably local datives with substantives, as in Skt. RV. 10. 99. 8 *kṣáyāya gātúṃ vidán no asmé* 'he has found us a way toward home' or Lat. Verg. Aen. 6. 126 *facilis descensus Averno* 'easy is the descent to Avernus', but also the datives with substantives which are associated with verbs which could take the primitive case of the secondary object, if the same relation can be viewed locally (p. 23). So e. g. Av. Y. 27. 13 *varəhəuš dazdā manarəhō šyaoθananəm arəhəuš mazdāi* 'the bringer to Mazda of the works of life of the good disposition', Lat. Cic. Top. 5. 28 *traditio alteri* 'a delivering up to another', Umbr. II a 8 *tikamne Juvie* 'with a dedication to Jovius'.

Under the same conditions as with substantives, adjectives which are associated with verbs should be able to take local datives, but since these are usually participles, i. e. are so intimately associated with the verb that they become a part of the verbal system, they call for no special comment, unless it be adjectives meaning 'near', the dative with which would be purely local if the same is true of the corresponding verbs meaning 'to approach, meet', etc. Cf. e. g. Gr. Soph. Ant. 761 *πλησία τῷ νυμφίῳ* 'near to the bride-groom', Lat. Hor. S. 1. 5. 45 *proxima Campano ponti . . . villula* 'a little villa closest to the Campanian bridge'.

All in all the importance of the locatival dative singular consists not so much in the number of actual occurrences of

the dative which can with probability be traced to it—on the contrary, the real local datives are quite rare, and of such a nature that they are not too far from uses that can be developed from the dative of the secondary object. Its real importance lies herein, that by giving the dative of the secondary object a formal distinction, the latter was no longer dependent on the coexistence of a primary object, so that it could be extended to constructions with intransitive verbs and substantives and adjectives. And as patterns for these extensions the locatival dative was itself occasionally construed in these ways, so as to make the same much easier also for non-local constructions. However, for the full development of these possibilities there was necessary a formally characterized dative plural as well as singular.

### III. THE ABLATIVAL DATIVE PLURAL.

Our conception of the way in which syncretism took place between the uninflected dative of the secondary object in the plural and the dative-ablative in *-bhios*, *-bhos*, and *-mos*, will depend on how we interpret these forms. If, like Professor Hopkins, *op. cit.* p. 119, we believe them to have been originally place-designating forms which did not differentiate between motion to and from and rest, then the dative-ablative plural was in one field of usage exactly parallel to the locatival dative singular, and its influence on the historical dative would be completely analogous, so that we should merely quote plural examples parallel to the singular ones of the last chapter to show how much the historical dative owes to it. However, to this point of view there are two objections. I have already referred to the fact that all of these endings end in *-os*, and that this makes it highly probable that these forms were made under the influence of the genitive-ablative singular, which did not have the function of either the dative or accusative. Furthermore, if the dative plural were indifferently local in origin, we should expect that it would show as many traces of real directive and terminative force as the dative singular. But Pischel, *BB.* 1. 113, remarks that all of the examples of datives with pure terminative meaning in Sanskrit are singulars, and a glance over the best Latin examples given by Landgraf, *ALL.* 8. 70 ff., reveals the fact that the local dative plural, while not unknown, is very much rarer than the singu-

lar in Latin also. This is much more easily explained by assuming that the dative plural was of ablative origin and that consequently directive and terminative uses were at first foreign to it, than by the idea that there would be a tendency later to confine these uses to the singular. Accepting, however, the theory that the dative-ablative plural was at first only an ablative, and took the place of the primitive dative by syncretism, it follows that we must seek as a starting-point a common sphere of usage for the dative and ablative plural, and this can only be the so-called dative of separation, i. e. the dative with verbs meaning 'to take away, deprive', etc., which, though a dative of the secondary object<sup>1</sup> in origin, suggested the notion of separation by the context, so that an ablative would have been equally in place. Aside from examples already mentioned, p. 16, the following might be quoted as occupying this common ground: Skt. RV. 1. 97. 1 *āpa nah śóśucad aghám* 'shining away guilt for us', RV. 10. 48. 2 *ahám dásyubhyaḥ*<sup>2</sup> *pári nṛmṇám ā dade* 'I took away for (or from) the demons their manliness', ib. 10. 39. 4 *niṣ taugryám āhathur adbhyaḥ* '(aus) den Wassern habt ihr den Taugrya entzogen', Av. V. 3. 39 *aētāciṭ aēibyō spāṛṇhaiti* 'auch diese (Sünden) nimmt sie (von) ihnen weg', Y. 9. 28 *gaurvaya hē pādave zāvarā* 'nimm (von) seinen Füßen die Kraft', Gr. A 456 *Δαναοῖσιν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἄμνον* 'ward off for the Greeks unseemly ruin', Xen. Cyr. 4. 2. 10 *μέγαν αὐτοῖς φόβον ἀπεληλακέναι ἐδόκει* 'he seemed to have removed for them a great fright', Lat. Cic. Cat. M. 71 *vitam adolescentibus vis aufert* 'violence deprives young men (of) life', Sall. Cat. 12. 5 *omnia sociis adimere* 'took everything (from) the allies', Verg. Aen. 8. 254 *prospectum eripiens oculis* 'taking away the view for (or from) the eyes', O. H. G. *thaz sie mih in irretitin* 'that they might save me (from) them', O. Sax. Hel. 5449 *that hie*

<sup>1</sup> It is indifferent whether we call this secondary object a dative of the indirect object or of advantage and disadvantage.

<sup>2</sup> This and the two following examples are usually considered ablatives, but there is no way of deciding in the individual case, and it is in fact the very ambiguity of such forms that is so important from our point of view. That the 'dative of separation' is actually found in Skt. is shown not only by the first example, where *nah* cannot possibly be an ablative, but also by singular datives, which are always unambiguous, e. g. RV. 2. 30. 2, according to Hopkins, op. cit. 113.

*im skoldi thia giwald biniman* 'that he should take (from) them their power', O. Eng. *wrápum sceal stefne mínre forstolen hreddan* 'for (i. e. from) the enemy I shall take away by means of my voice what has been stolen'.

Starting with this common sphere of usage, the original ablative plural became also the dative plural<sup>1</sup> by the same process of syncretism by which the locative dative singular became *the* dative: the inflected form, as being the clearer, was substituted everywhere for the old uninflected dative; and after the dative thus received an ending in the plural also, it could, like the singular, be used as well with intransitive verbs and substantives and adjectives, since it was no longer dependent on the coexistence of the primary object of a verb. After the plural forms had thus received a sphere of usage somewhat like the singular in *-ai*, the natural result was that the two numbers in turn became associated with each other, so that there resulted complete identity of uses, in as far as these were not conditioned on number. Only after this stage was reached, can one with propriety speak of the uses of *the* dative.

#### IV. DATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF COMPOSITE ORIGIN.

It now remains only to indicate in the most general way how the remaining historic uses of the dative are derived from those already discussed by the working together of two forces: the force of analogy to either the non-localistic uses of the primitive dative of the secondary object, or (more rarely) the localistic uses, and the existence of inflectional endings of local origin. I adopt a classification parallel to the one used for the primitive dative.

##### 1. *The Dative as Sole Object in Closer Connection with the Verb.*

I. *With normally transitive verbs.* I am not referring to the numerous instances in which a dative is the secondary object with either a genitive or infinitive or clause as primary object instead of an accusative, as e. g. Skt. *agnír iṣāṃ sakhyé dadātu naḥ* 'may Agni give us (of the) refreshments in friendship', Lith. *dūk mán pėno* 'give me (some) milk' with a genitive;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brugmann, op. cit. 504 ff., for the syncretism of ablative and dative in Germanic, largely because of a similar common sphere of usage.



or Gr. β 6 κηρύκεσσι . . . κέλευσε κηρύσσειν 'ordered the heralds to summon', Lat. Ter. Eun. 2. 2. 21 *imperiavi egomet mihi omnia adsentari* 'I have ordered myself to assent to everything' with an infinitive; or verbs of saying and speaking with a substantive clause, e. g. Skt. RV. 7. 87. 4 *uvāca me vārunaḥ* 'Varuna declared to me' (with words following), Lat. Plaut. As. 5. 2. 88 *dicebam, pater, tibi ne matri consuleres male* 'I told you, father, that etc.' In all such combinations the dative is as truly a secondary object as when used with an accusative, and just as little depended on inflectional endings for its interpretation.

There are, however, cases where a transitive verb takes a dative with no coexisting direct object of any kind, either because it is suggested by the context or situation or because it is of such a general nature that no reference to it is needed. So e. g. Skt. RV. 9. 82. 4 *śṛṇuḥī brāṇīmi te* 'listen, I speak to thee' (with no quotation), Osc. Herentatēi Herukinaī pruffed 'Veneri Erycinae posuit' (i. e. the marble table on which the dedication was inscribed); also such phrases as Engl. *to give to the poor* or Germ. *den Armen geben, den Göttern opfern*, exactly like Gr. ῥέζειν θεῷ (e. g. B 400) after phrases like ἑκατόμβας ῥέζειν θεῷ 'to sacrifice hecatombs to the god' (e. g. Ψ 206). In these instances the habit of using the dative to whom, as contracted in the usual transitive uses of the verb, simply exerted its force when the object was omitted, unless indeed there was actually in the mind an unexpressed direct object, in which case the dative was still a dative of the secondary object.

The same habit of using the dative of the indirect object with transitive verbs accounts for retaining the dative of the person when the construction becomes passive, e. g. Skt. RV 3. 62. 7 *suṣṭutir . . . túbhyaṃ śasyate* 'the song is sung to thee' Gr. E 428 οὐ τοι . . . δέδοται πολέμια ἔργα 'to you deeds of war are not given', Lat. Plaut. Am. prol. 138 *ea dona quae illic Amphitruoni sunt data* 'those gifts which were there given to Amphitruo'.

II. *With normally intransitive verbs.* Partially these arose in the same way as the dative as sole object with passives and verbs normally transitive, i. e. those instances in which the dative was a secondary object along with a direct object or cognate

accusative acted as patterns for those in which there was no such primary object. Thus in Latin *mihi ignoscas* (Cic. Att. 7. 12. 3) after *mihi hoc ignoscas* (ib. 1. 1. 4), Germ. *vergieb uns* after *vergieb uns unsere Schuld*, or Gr. τῷδε πιστεύω λόγῳ 'I trust this speech' (Soph. El. 886) like λόγους δ' ἐμοῖσι πίστευσον τᾶδε 'trust my words these things' i. e. 'herein' (Eur. Hel. 710). Since many verbs considered intransitive may occasionally take a cognate accusative, the field of the influence of combinations of the dative with such internal objects was no doubt much wider than appears on the surface.

Still more important, however, in the development of the use of the dative with intransitive verbs was the force of the analogy of synonymous expressions in which the dative was a dative of the secondary object,<sup>1</sup> or was used with passive verbs. We might illustrate in English by the use of the preposition *to* in *listen to* after *give ear to*, *attend to* after *give attention to*, *to fall to* (*one's lot*) after *to be given to*.

Finally, it must not be forgotten that the locative dative was from the beginning used with intransitive verbs like those meaning 'to come, go' just as well as with transitive verbs, and that these were therefore themselves patterns for other verbs which might be associated with them, even if these were not themselves of such meaning as to take a local dative. Verbs meaning 'to approach' could very well have been among the patterns for those meaning 'to incline toward, bend, make obeisance to'.<sup>2</sup>

There follows a list of important categories of intransitive verbs with the dative which are common to several I. E. languages, together with suggested associations which may be responsible for their constructions: verbs meaning *to help*,

<sup>1</sup> The equivalence of certain intransitive verbs with combinations of transitive verbs and their objects or of verbs and predicate nouns was stressed by H. C. Nutting, CJ. 2. 250, and Fay, loc. cit. 193.

<sup>2</sup> The best examples of the influence of passives on intransitives are verbs meaning 'to appear': Skt. RV. *āvir ebhya abhavat śhryaḥ* 'the sun became manifest to them', Gr. ο 516 οὐ μὲν γάρ τι θαμὰ μνηστῆρσι . . . φαίνεται 'for she does not often appear to the suitors', Lat. Tib. 4. 1. 65 *quis numquam . . . dies apparuit* 'to whom day never appears'. This identity of 'to appear' and 'to be shown' is seen particularly from the Gr. *φαίνομαι*, which, though classified as a passive, can oftener be translated 'appear' than 'be shown'.

e. g. Skt. *zak-*, Gr. *ἀρήγω*, *χραισμέω*, *βοηθέω*, Lat. *auxilior*, O. H. G. *helpan* O. Icel. *hialpa*, Lith. *padėti*, O. Blg. *pomosti*; after expressions meaning 'to bring or give help to', like Gr. *ἀρήγειν τινί* after e. g. Aesch. Cho. 476 *πέμπετ' ἀρωγὴν παῖσιν* 'send help to the children', Lat. *auxilior alicui* after e. g. Enn. ap. Cic. Ac. 2. 28. 89 *fer mi auxilium. to serve*, e. g. Skt. *zam-*, Av. *vid-*, Gr. *ὑπηρετέω*, Lat. *servio*,<sup>1</sup> Goth. *andbahtjan* O. H. G. *ambahten*, O. H. G. *thionōn* O. Icel. *þiðna*, O. Blg. *služiti*; either by analogy to 'to help', or after expressions like Germ. *einem einen Dienst erweisen*, Gr. CIG. 1125 *ἄλλας ὑπηρεσίας ὑποσπάντα τῇ πόλει* 'undertaking other services for the city', Lat. Plaut. Capt. 2. 3. 31 *servitutem servire huic homini. to pardon, forgive*; see p. 132 f. *to wish well* (Lat. *bene volo*, Av. *urvāz-*) and *to wish ill* (Lat. *male volo*); the Germ. *einem etwas Gutes* (or *Böses*) *wünschen* suggests that the Latin abverbial verb phrases also go back to *bonum* (or *malum*) *alicui velle*, and thus were originally datives of the secondary object, while the Avestan word was no doubt formed by analogy to similar phrases. *to be angry at*, e. g. Skt. *har-*, *krudh-*, Gr. *χολόομαι*, *κοτέω*, *ὀργίζομαι*, Lat. *irascor*, Goth. *hati-zōn*; after phrases like Gr. Θ 449 *τοῖσιν κότον αἰὼν ἔθεσθε* 'against whom you have conceived a terrible wrath'. *to envy*, e. g. Skt. *sparh-*, Gr. *φθονέω*, Lat. *invideo*, Lith. *pavydėti*, O. Blg. *zaviděti*; probably after the transitive use of the same or similar verbs, cf. p. 16. *to please*, e. g. Skt. *svad-* (of taste), *chand-*, Gr. *ἀνδάνω*, *ἀρέσκω*, Lat. *placeo*; possibly after expressions like Eng. *it gives me great pleasure* or Germ. *es macht mir viel Vergnügen*, as is suggested by Gr. Pher. Chir. 1. 1 *σοί τε γὰρ κλύειν | ἐμοί τε λέξαι μῦθον ἡδονὴν ἔχει* 'for it gives you pleasure to hear and me to tell my story'.<sup>2</sup> *to believe*, e. g. Skt. *grad-dhā* = Lat. *credo*, Gr. *πιστεύω*, Goth. *galaubjan* O. H. G. *gilouben*, Lith. *věryti*, O. Blg. *věrovati*; as was pointed out again by Fay, CQ. 5. 193, the dative with *credo* is explained by Skt. RV. 2. 12. 5 *grād asmai dhatta* 'put belief in him', i. e. 'believe him', as originally a dative of the

<sup>1</sup> The 'dative after 'to serve' may also come from 'be servant to', see p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> However, cf. Her. 7. 160 *εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἡδονὴ τοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἡγεμονεύειν*, which suggests that the dative after 'to please' might have been influenced by 'it is a pleasure to'.

secondary object, though in both Sanskrit and Latin the origin was forgotten.<sup>1</sup> The dative with the other words meaning 'to believe' either by analogy to these very words (if they existed in the respective languages) or to others like them, though the transitive use (p. 21) of some of these words also had its influence. Sometimes identical, like Skt. *śrad-dhā*-Lat. *credo*, sometimes closely associated with this group are verbs meaning *to trust*, e. g. Gr. *πέποιθα*, Lat. *fido*, Goth. *trauan* O. H. G. *trūēn* O. Icel. *trúa*, Lith. *isz-si-tikti*. It is scarcely necessary to remark that the construction of these verbs must have originated exactly like those meaning 'to believe'. *to listen to, give attention to, obey*; e. g. Skt. *śru-*, Gr. *ὑπακούω, πείθομαι*, Lat. *ausculto, oboedio*, Goth. *gaumjan* O. Icel. *geyma* (only 'give attention to'), Goth. *hausjan* O. H. G. *hören*, O. Blg. *væn-imati* (only 'give attention to'); the Latin compound *aus-culto*, literally 'to incline the ear to',<sup>2</sup> phrases like Av. *yōi ahmāi sərəošəm dān* 'who give him obedience', Gr. Ar. Equ. 503 *ἡμῖν προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν* 'give your attention to us', Lat. Ov. M. 3. 692 *praeuimus longis ambagibus aures* 'gave our ears to long circumlocutions', show clearly how these datives originated. Cf. also Shakespeare's *lend me your ears. to approach, meet*; see p. 127 f. *to incline toward, bend down to*, e. g. Skt. *nam-*, O. H. G. O. Sax. *hnīgan*, Lith. *klōnotis* O. Blg. *pokloniti se*; for origin cf. Skt. RV. 10. 34. 8 *ugrāsya cin manyāve nā namante rājā cid ebhyo nāma it kṛṇoti* 'they do not even bend down before the wrath of a mighty one, (but) even the king makes obeisance to them', where the phrase *nāmas kar-* with the dative occurs as the synonym of the verb in the very same passage. For the earliest period it is also a question how far combinations of the verb with a reflexive direct object and dative of the secondary object were the patterns for the dative of the middle verbs. *to yield, give way*, e. g. Skt. *nī-hā-*, Av. *upa-dā-*, Gr. *ἔκω, παρείκω, χωρέω παραχωρέω*, Lat. *cedo*, O. H. G. *wīchan*. At least three different paths of association lead to the dative with these words: for the Skt. and Av. words in the sense 'to withdraw before i. e. from' there was an association with the

<sup>1</sup> Thus *credo* itself becomes transitive: *istuc tibi credere*, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> See Fay, loc. cit.

opposite 'approach, meet',<sup>1</sup> (p. 127 f.), while the derivation from *χώρα* of Gr. *χωρέω* and *παραχωρέω* suggests that these took their case after phrases meaning 'to give ground to', as figuratively Plut. 2. 62 D οὐ διδοὺς ἐτέρῳ τόπον οὐδὲ χῶραν διακοιλίας; for the other words the patterns partially were similar locutions, partially the numerous instances in which these same verbs were used with both direct and indirect object, e. g. Gr. Ψ 337 εἰξαί τέ οἱ ἡνία lit. 'yield to him (the horse) the reins', Lat. Cic. Off. 2. 18. 64 *cedere multa multis de suo jure*.

Verbs meaning *to fall to one's lot, to become one's own*, etc., came to take the dative by two paths. On the one hand their meaning connects them very closely with verbs meaning 'to come' and 'to go', which took a local dative (p. 126 f.). Between the use of the Skt. dative in RV. 8. 103. 6 *asmai prá stómā yanty agnáye* 'to this Agni go forth the praises' and RV. 10. 86. 23 *bhadrām bhala tyásyā abhūt* 'good fell to her lot' i. e. 'came to her', or CB. 10. 4. 3. 9 *kó máhyaṃ bhāgó bhaviṣyati* 'what part will fall to my lot?' there is so little difference that it looks as though either the two latter were patterned after the former, or these were themselves considered as verbs of motion, though used in a figurative sense, so that their dative was local. Similarly Goth. Luc. 1. 14 *wairþiþ þus fahēds* 'joy falls to your lot' i. e. 'comes to you' is much like O. H. G. *thaz ouh heilī queme themo manne* 'that salvation also may come to man'. On the other hand 'to fall to one's lot' or 'to become one's own' is often synonymous with 'to be given to one', so that the dative with these verbs was no doubt largely patterned after that with the passive of verbs of giving or sending and the like. Thus cf. Skt. RV. 3. 51. 6 *túbhyam bráhmāṇi gíra indra túbhyam satrá dadhire* 'to thee, Indra, prayers, to thee songs are offered altogether' with RV. 6. 44. 10 *indra túbhyam . . . abhūma vayám* 'Indra, we have become thine' lit. 'to thee'; Gr. E 652 σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ ἐνθάδε φημὶ φόνον καὶ κῆρα μέλαιναν ἐξ ἐμέθεν τεύξεσθαι 'I say that death and black fate shall be brought upon you (dat.) from me' with Soph. El. 859 πᾶσι θνατοῖς ἔφν μόρος 'death falls to the lot of all mortals'. In the Latin 'to become' and 'to be made' are

<sup>1</sup> Through the association of opposites is also to be explained the dative with Skt. *ā-vraṇac-* 'to turn away from'; cf. Engl. 'to part with' after 'to meet with'.

so intimately associated that they have become one system, so that *factus sum* is the perfect tense of 'to become' as well as of 'to be made', while conversely *feri* is not only 'to become', but also the passive of *facere*: *id ei loco nomen factum est* is either 'that name was given to that place' or 'became to it'.

This dative shades imperceptibly into *the dative of possession*, the only difference being that in the latter meaning the verbs, often the same as above, designate the resulting state of possession rather than the entrance into that state, so that, in as far as their datives were not used simply by analogy to the preceding, they were associated with the perfect passive tense of verbs meaning 'to give' and the like, e. g. Gr. οὗτοι δέδοται πολέμια ἔργα would not differ much in meaning if ἐστὶν were substituted for δέδοται, i. e. if it were 'deeds of war are not to thee' i. e. 'thine' rather than 'are not given to thee'. Conversely, in the Skt. RV. I. 109. 1 *nānyā yuvāt prāmatir asti māhyam* 'there is no other care (i. e. 'no one else who cares') for me than you', the perfect passive of 'to give' could be substituted for 'is' without affecting the meaning, and similarly in Δ 169 ἀλλά μοι αἰὼν ἄχος σέθεν ἔσσειται 'there shall be to me (I shall have) terrible grief' or 'there shall have come to me etc.', Xen. An. I. 2. 7 ἐνταῦθα Κύρου βασιλεία ἦν 'there Cyrus had a palace' ('a palace was built for him'), Lat. Cic. Cat. 3. 7. 16 *erat ei consilium ad facinus aptum* 'he possessed an understanding specially adapted for crime', Verg. Ec. 3. 33 *est mihi . . . domi pater* 'I have a father at home', Goth. Rom. 9. 2 *saúrga mis ist mikila* lit. 'there is great grief to me', Luc. 8. 42 *daúhtar ainōhō was imma* 'he had one daughter only', O. Blg. obyčaje bě igemonu 'the abbot had the habit'.

After the dative of the possessor was well established, it became in turn the model for the dative with certain intransitive verbs which are equivalent in meaning to 'to be' with a predicate noun. Most obviously this is the origin of the dative with verbs meaning *to be master over, to rule*, as Gr. ἀνάσσω, βασιλεύω, Lat. *moderor, tempero, impero*, Goth. *waldan* O. Sax. *giwaldan*, O. Blg. *cěsarěstjnovati*, 'rule as king or emperor over', *ustojati*. Thus cf. E 546 τέκετ' Ὀρσίλοχον πολέεσσ' ἀνδρεσσιν ἀνακτα 'he begot O. (to be) ruler over many men', with A 288 πάντεσσι δ' ἀνάσσειν 'to rule over all', Lat. Oros.

6. II. 1 *dux his Vercingetorix fuit* 'Vercingetorix was leader for these' with Sall. J. 13. 2 *Jugurtha omni Numidiae imperare parat* 'J. prepares to rule over all Numidia'. However, the dative with these words was in some cases due to the influence of the widely prevalent transitive use of some words meaning 'to command' (p. 17), and still other bonds of connection are possible e. g. for Lat. *moderor*, which no doubt followed an expression like Eng. 'impose measure upon'.

Possibly the dative with 'to be' is also partially responsible for that with some of the verbs meaning 'to serve' (p. 134), e. g. Gr. ὑπηρετέω = ὑπηρέτης εἰμί, Lat. *servio* = *servus sum*, O. Blg. *služiti* = *sluga byti*. Cf. Soph. O. T. 410 οὐ γάρ τι σοὶ ζῶ δοῦλος ἀλλὰ Λοξίτη.

It thus appears that the dative with intransitive verbs is in every instance easily explained by direct or indirect association with datives of the secondary object (or, more rarely, old local datives), so that we need not be surprised at the varying constructions with verbs of identical meaning in the same or different languages and even with the same words of the same language. Not because we do not comprehend the point of view of the speakers of the language, as was thought e. g. by Horace C. Nutting, C.J. 2. 254, are we often puzzled by these variations, but rather because the speakers themselves had no real point of view, and mechanically reproduced combinations which they either learned from others or formed by mechanical association with other related forms of expression. There is no reason whatever to believe that a primitive I. E. people ever possessed a more definite attitude to the dative than does a living language like the German.

## 2. *The Dative in Looser Connection with Intransitive Verbs.*

The use of the dative in the constructions often grouped together as the 'dative of interest', when not a secondary object, merely required the development of dative endings in order to be as easily possible as the same constructions with a primary object. In addition, there were numerous paths of association of all kinds leading from individual datives of the secondary object to the same with intransitive verbs. Thus many constructions with 'to be' might as well be taken as

datives of interest, and in fact the dative of possession is itself often classified in that way. Then again there are the same connections between the looser datives of the secondary object and those with intransitive verbs, as for those more closely connected, the same influence of the active on the passive, of the passive on intransitive verbs, of phrases consisting of verb plus accusative on intransitive verbs. It would, however, be impossible in an article of this kind, even to attempt to find one's way through such an intricate network, and such connections could with any success be traced only after detailed study of the individual languages from this point of view. I therefore confine myself to giving very few representative examples of the different types which I consider needed the working together of the dative of the secondary object with the originally local dative endings.

I. *The Dative of Advantage or Disadvantage*.<sup>1</sup> Skt. RV. 9. 62. 27 *túbhyemā bhúvanā kave mahimné soma tasthire túbhyam arṣanti sindhavaḥ* 'for you this world stands, O seer, O Soma, for your glory; for you the streams flow', Gr. Xen. An. 2. 3. 15 *αἱ βάλανοι τῶν φοινίκων . . . τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀπέκειντο* 'the dates were laid aside for the slaves', Plat. Menex. 246 E *ἄλλω γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος πλουτεῖ καὶ οὐχ ἑαυτῷ* 'for such a man is rich for another and not for himself', Lat. Plaut. Merc. 1. 1. 71 *tibi seris, tibi item metis* 'for yourself you sow, for yourself you likewise reap', id. Capt. 4. 2. 86 *miquidem esurio, non tibi* 'for myself I am hungry, not for you', Goth. Rom. 14. 4 *seinamma frauġin standiþ aíþrau driusiþ* 'for his own master he stands or falls', O. H. G. *ir birut in lioht scīnentaz* 'you are for them a shining light', Lith. *žmónės tikl sau dirba* 'people only work for themselves', O. Blg. *sebě živetě* 'lives for himself'.

II. *The Ethical Dative*. Gr. Her. 5. 92 *τοιοῦτο μὲν ὑμῖν ἐστι ἡ τυραννίς, ᾧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι* 'there is despotism for you, O Lacedaemonians', Lat. Cic. Fam. 9. 2 *at tibi repente venit mihi Caminius* 'but, look you, suddenly Caminius comes to me',

<sup>1</sup> It might be possible also here to establish a subcategory of the so-called 'dativus sympatheticus' (p. 117 f.), found e. g. in Lat. Plaut. Mil. 5. 6 *quasi puero in collo pendeant crepundia* 'as though a rattle were hanging for the boy from his neck' (i. e. 'from the boy's neck'), Goth. Joh. 11. 32 *draus imma du fōtum* 'fell before his feet' lit. for him before the feet'.



Germ. *das ist mir eine böse Geschichte, bei Lützen ritt ich euch unter des Feuers Blitzen auf und nieder.*<sup>1</sup>

III. *The Dative of the Person Judging.* Av. Y. 65. 4 *kasčitča aēšqm apayžāranqm čaθwarasatəm ayaṛābaranqm hvaspāi naire barəmnāi* 'und jeder dieser Abflüsse ist 40 Tagesritte lang für einen Reiter, der gut zu Pferd ist', Gr. Xen. An. 6. 4. 1 ἡ Θράκη αὐτῇ ἐστὶν . . . ἐπὶ δεξιὰ εἰς τὸν Πόντον εἰσπλέοντι 'this Thrace is on the right for one sailing into the Pontus', Lat. Cat. 86. 1 *Quintia formosa est multis* 'Quintia is beautiful in the eyes of many', Verg. Aen. 2. 713 *est urbe egressis tumulus* 'there is, as you come out of the city, a mound'.

IV. *The Dative of the Agent* with passive verbal adjectives. In contrast to the preceding groups this dative, since it presupposes a passive meaning of the adjective, cannot ever be traced directly to a dative of the secondary object. However, it is so close in its use to the other 'datives of interest' when independent of a primary object, that it is easily derived from them: cf. Skt. RV. 1. 33. 2 *stotṛbhya hávya āsti* 'for the singers is one who must be called upon' i. e. 'must be called upon by the singers', ib. 1. 75. 4 *sákhibhya ṛḍyaḥ* lit. 'for the friends one who must be honored', Gr. Xen. An. 1. 3. 15 *ἐμοὶ τοῦτο οὐ ποιητέον* 'this is for me something that should not be done', id. Mem. 3. 6. 3 *ὠφελητέα σοι ἡ πόλις ἐστί* 'the city is for you one to whom aid should be given' i. e. 'should be aided by you', Lat. Cic. Cat. 3. 12. 28 *vobis erit videndum* 'this will be for you something to be attended to'. This dative with the 'participium necessitatis' is thus still a dative of interest, and only when it is also used with other passive participles, e. g. Cic. Leg. Agr. 1. 25 *mihi deliberatum et constitutum est* 'it has been deliberated and resolved by me', or even with finite verb forms (e. g. Xen. An. 1. 8. 13 *πάνθ' ἡμῖν πεπολήται* 'everything has been done by us'), can one really speak of a dative of the agent.

### 3. *The Dative of Purpose.*

The dative of purpose with intransitive verbs might sometimes be local (cf. p. 124), but more often is developed from the dative of purpose with transitive verbs in the same ways as

<sup>1</sup> From Brugmann, op. cit. 556.

the other datives of the sole object in looser connection with the verb are derived from the same uses with a primary object, and was, moreover, also closely associated with other more loosely connected datives and grew up together with them, often differing not so much in the meaning of the case, as in the mere fact that the dative of purpose was usually an abstract noun as opposed to the prevailing personal datives of interest. Particularly in the case of the dative of purpose with verbs meaning 'to be' does the close connection with the other datives appear. Cf. Skt. RV. 1. 37. 15 *ásti hi śmā mādāya vaḥ* 'something is there for you, for intoxication', where the personal dative of advantage and the abstract dative of purpose are parallel and seem to differ only as to their stem meaning. Similar abstract datives with 'to be' are Av. *niṭəmačiṭ haomahūitiṣ hazarəraṇyāi asti daēvanəm* 'even the slightest haoma-pressing is for (i. e. serves the purpose of) thousandfold killing of Daevas', Lat. Caes. B. G. 4. 25 *magno usui nostris fuit* 'it was for (i. e. of) great service to our men', O. Blg. *pozoru běachq* 'dienten zum Schauspiel'.

Of datives of purpose with other intransitive verbs I may mention the following, the first again showing the parallelism between such a dative and the personal datives: Skt. RV. 1. 30. 6 *ūrdhvás tiṣṭhā na ūtāye* 'arise for us for help', RV. 10. 109. 4 *tāpase yé niṣedúḥ* 'who have sat down for penance', Av. Y. 50. 7 *mahmāi hyātā avarəhē* 'be ready for my help', Lat. Caes. B. G. 2. 29. 1 *auxilio Nervii venirent* 'came for assistance (i. e. to help) to the Nervii'.

The following are examples of the dative of purpose with passives, one of the intermediate links which connect those with and without a primary object: Skt. MS. 3. 1. 3 (4. 1) *ānnāya ca khālu vai gātāve cāgnīṣ cīyate* 'for (obtaining) food and a course Agni is piled up', Lat. Caes. B. G. 1. 42. 3 *dies conloquio dictus est* 'a day was set for an interview'. As is seen from the Skt. example particularly, these datives may also be concrete like those with the active (p. 119 f.).

#### 4. The Dative with Substantives.

We have seen above that a large part of these were local, while the primitive dative of the secondary object could never be used with substantives. After the development of a for-

mally differentiated dative and its consequent use with intransitive verbs, it became possible also to use the dative with verbal substantives which were associated with these verbs regardless of the possibility of conceiving the case locally, and regardless of the difference between the singular and plural. Thus one could now use expressions like Gr. Plat. Ap. 30 D τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δόσιν ὑμῖν 'the gift of the god to you', Aesch. Pr. 612 πρὸς βροτοῖς δοτῆρ' ὄρᾳς Προμηθέα 'you see Prometheus, the giver of fire to mortals' as well as corresponding singular datives, and one might use in all numbers similar datives which could not be felt locally, e. g. Xen. An. 5. 6. 29 ἐπιβουλὴ ἐμοί 'a plot against me' (like ἐπιβουλεύειν), Plat. Legg. 773 E τῷ θεῷ ὑπηρέτας<sup>1</sup> 'servants to the god' (like ὑπηρετεῖν), Lat. Cic. Legg. 1. 15. 42 *obtemperatio scriptis legibus* 'obedience to the written laws' (like *obtemperare*), Plaut. Am. 1. 1. 14 *opulento homini . . . servitus* 'being servant to a rich man' (like *servire*), similarly O. Blg. *slugovanije tēlu* 'corpori servire'.

Altogether different from these datives are certain common datives of interest with substantives, e. g. Skt. RV. *dāsyave vṛkaḥ* 'a wolf for the enemy' (proper name), Av. V. 5. 20 *vāstrəmča gave* 'and fodder for the cattle', Gr. τ 144 Λαέρτη ἥρωι ταφῆιον 'a shroud for the hero L.', Lat. Liv. 1. 20. 4 *pectori tegumen* 'a covering for the breast', Osc. Kerri statif 'a statue to Ceres', Goth. Marc. 2. 28 *frauja . . . þamma sabbatō* 'lord for (i. e. over) the sabbath', Lith. *rugiai sėklai* 'rye for seed', O. Blg. *vsēmz rabz* 'a servant to all'. Since such uses must under any theory of the dative be traced to isolation from phrases in which verbs meaning 'to be' and the like were used in addition to the two substantives, these are of no further importance for our purposes. Cf. Brugmann, Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup>. 402, Gr. 2. 2<sup>2</sup>. 561 f.

### 5. The Datives with Adjectives.

Except in so far as these were of local origin (p. 128), they are also necessarily derived from the datives with verbs of related form or meaning. Cf. Brugmann op. cit. 563 f. Since here also our opinion of the history of the I. E. dative will in no way cause a different attitude to these constructions, I

<sup>1</sup> Not a good example. θεῷ depends on παραδοῦναι. In Anab. 5, 6, 29 φαίνοιτο must be reckoned with.—[C. W. E. M.]

refrain from more than mere mention, particularly since an attempt to trace the origin of the dative with the individual adjectives would be a matter of great length and intricacy.

It will now be in order to summarize what I consider the points of superiority of the point of view here presented over both the local and the grammatical theories of the dative, the superiority of the hypothesis namely, that the I. E. dative was in its first origin an uninflected case of the secondary object, which had certain points of contact with a local case somewhat like the locative in the singular, and with the ablative in the plural, and that from this partially common sphere of usage complete syncretism resulted, so that the uninflected case gave way everywhere to the clearer inflected originally local forms. This hypothesis avoids both the objections to the purely local theory, which plainly conflicts with the actual uses of the dative and the psychic attitude to the same in living languages, and those to the grammatical theory, which makes the impossible assumption that an inflected form had from the beginning those non-sensuous meanings which otherwise come from sensuous meanings after long processes of development. The origin of the dative from purely syntactic combinations *has* enabled us to see why it was from the beginning a vague and principally non-sensuous case; but it has not forced us to believe that as human intelligence has been more highly developed, the appreciation of the subtle relations as expressed by the cases has become more blunt instead of the reverse, and that the present-day attitude to such forms is merely a vague remnant of primitive acute discrimination. Furthermore, since the province of such an uninflected dative of the secondary object embraced the roots of most of the historic uses of the dative as exemplified by a very considerable percentage of actually occurring instances, we are in this way no longer forced to believe that a very few petrified remnants incorporate the original uses of the case, while all the various actual uses have spread out from this phantom. A further point of advantage lies herein that it brings into relation with the actual uses of the dative the fact that the singular ending is probably locative and the plural

ablative, and still does not attribute to those endings an independent development of uses so far from them as most of the dative uses. Then too the notion of syncretism has this advantage over a purely local theory, that we now understand why the dative was limited to directive or at the most also terminative local notions. However freely these forms were used in various local significations before syncretism with the case of the secondary object, yet the fact that only in the directive or terminative sense there was any common ground, and the overwhelming frequency of the uses of the primitive dative of the secondary object as opposed to the purely local uses, resulted in confining the latter to those situations in which a certain resemblance was felt to the non-local uses, and even there a feeling of strangeness caused the purely local uses to become more and more restricted, though occasionally, as in the Latin poets, these remnants might be artificially developed so as again to give the appearance of distinct local functions. Last, but not least, the idea of syncretism assumes a process that has most striking historical parallels in the development of the Romance dative from an originally localistic prepositional phrase, which took the place of the old dative through an exactly similar process of syncretism, as also in the gradual encroachment of the English phrases with *to* on almost all uses of the simple case of the indirect object. The theory of the syncretistic origin of the dative, then, avoids the objections to both local and grammatical theories, combines the advantages of both, and explains other features which both of the other theories cannot explain.

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